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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 180805

FOLLOWING REPEAT KHARTOUM 3159 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BELGRADE
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QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L KHARTOUM 3159

DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: OAU PORG MASS XA
SUBJECT: OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, DAY VII: ANIMATED DEBATE
ON AFRICAN MILITARY ISSUES RESUMES

REF: A. KHARTOUM 3043 (NOTAL); B. KHARTOUM 3046 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (COM) BEGAN DISCUSSION OF
CONGOLESE PROPOSAL ON PAN-AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE (REF B)
MORNING JULY 13. AFTER DAY-LONG, APPARENTLY HIGHLY-
CHARGED DEBATE COM REACHED NUMBER OF MODERATE CONCLUSIONS.
COM RECOMMENDED QUESTION OF PAN-AFRICAN FORCE BE STUDIED
FURTHER, THAT SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF EACH COUNTRY TO APPEAL
FOR ASSISTANCE IS PRESERVED BUT, IN SEEMING CONTRADICTION,
THAT DEFENSE OF AFRICA IS "SOLE" RESPONSIBILITY OF
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AFRICANS. FRANCE ESCAPED ANY OAU CONDEMNATION, ALTHOUGH
NUMBER OF OAU MEMBER STATES STRONGLY ATTACKED HER DURING
DEBATE. SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES ON CONTINENT WERE
MENTIONED ONLY IN BROAD GENERAL TERMS. IN OAU
TRADITION, COM RESOLUTIONS WERE GENERALIZED ENOUGH TO
ACHIEVE "UNANIMOUS" CONSENSUS OF MEMBERS. IT APPEARS
"MODERATES" ARE MAINTAINING THEIR ASSERTIVENESS IN COM.

END SUMMARY.

1. HAVING SUBMITTED FOR DEBATE PREVIOUS EVENING DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PAN-AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CONGO FONMIN THEOPHILE OBENGA BEGAN MORNING SESSION WITH STRONG SPEECH ACCUSING AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS OF 5TH FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT IN PARIS OF "HIGH TEASON" AND "FLAGRANT VILATION OF OAU'S CHARTER." SPEAKING OF INTER-AFRICAN FORCE WHICH APPEARED TO EMERGE FROM PARIS, OBENGA SAID "IT IS NOTHING OTHER THAN AN INSTRUMENT OF DESTRUCTION AND DESTABILIZATION OF AFRICAN REGIMES BY AFRICAN REGIMES, AND IS INTENDED TO STRANGLE DEMOCRATIC FORCES WHICH ARE GROWING UP ON CONTINENT." HE ADDED THAT THIS FORCE WAS "PRODUCT OF IMPERIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUED EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA'S RICHES."

2. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, OBENGA'S SPEECH IGNITED STRONG REPOSE FROM NUMEROUS STATES, INCLUDING GABON AND MAURITIUS, LATTER OF WHOM CHALLENGED CONGO TO PRODUCE PROOF OF HIS CHARGES. DEBATE CONSUMED ENTIRE MORNING SESSION DURING WHICH DELEGATES COMPLAINED THAT SUDANESE CHAIRMAN OF COM DID NOT CONTROL SPEAKERS. ADEQUATELY. TOWARD END OF SESSION GUINEA REPORTEDLY MADE MOTION TO SEPARATE ISSUE OF INTER-AAFRICAN FORCE FROM THAT OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND DEFER DISCUSSION

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TO FORMER TO HEADS OF STATE SUMMIT. MOTION ALSO CALLED FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE AND THERE WERE RUMORS THAT SOME MEMBERS FAVORED THIS BECAUSE RESOLUTION CALLING FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES WAS GAINING SOME MOMENTUM. HOWEVER COM VOTED 31-9 TO CONTINUE DEBATE AND TO ATTEMPT TO REACH CONCLUSION. DELEGATES EMERGED FROM MORNING SESSION DESCRIBING ATMOSPHERE AS "ELECTRIC" (SOMALIA), TOPICS AS "HOTTEST ISSUE OF CONFERENCE" (KENYA), DEBATE AS "VERY TOUGHT" (SUDAN) AND END RESULT OF MORNING AS "HAVING ACHIEVED ABSOLUTELY NOTHING " (LIBERIA).

3. MAJOR ELEMENTS OF CONGOLESE DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH WERE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION WERE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER THIS RECONFIRMATION OF EXPANSIONIST POLICIES OF CERTAIN WESTERN IMPERIALIST STATES IN AFRICA.

(B) CONDEMNS SORDID MANEUVERS INTENDED TO DISRUPT UNITY ON THE CONTINENT AND JEOPARDIZE PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA.

(C) CONDEMNS ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY INTER-AFRICAN FORCE OUTSIDE THE OAU.

(D) REAFFIRMS TOTAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVE-

MENTS RECOGNIZED BY OAU, IN WHOSE SERVICE ALL ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE PLACED, TO EFFECT THE LIBERATION OF CONTINENT.

Y (E) APPEALS TO ALL OAU STATES TO IDENTIFY THE ENEMY AND THWART ANY ATTEMPTS TO SOW CONFUSION AND DRAW THEM AWAY FROM THEIR TRUE OBJECTIVES. DESPITE BEING DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PAN-AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE, CONGOLESE PROPOSALS DO NOT MENTION ANYTHING ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OR CREATION OF ONE, AND APPEAR INTENDED MEARELY AS VEHICLE TO DENOUCHE "IMPERIALISTS," ESPECIALLY FRANCE.

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4. LENGTHY AND IMPASSIONED DEBATE RESUMED EVENING JULY 13 WITH RUMORS THAT COUNTER-PROPOSALS WERE BEING PUT FORWARD BY "MODERATE" STATES, POSSIBLY LED BY LIBERIA, WHO HAD CALLED FOR COM TO EXAMINE "NUTS AND BOLTS" OF ISSUES. THREAT OF CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, SEEN AS CHIEFLY DIRECTED AGAINST SOVIETS AND CUBANS, BUT ALSO FRENCH, MAY HAVE SERVED AS MODERATING FACTOR TO ENCOURAGE MORE "CONSTRUCTIVE " APPROACH. IN ANY CASE, AFTER TOTAL OF 38 SPEAKERS AND ANOTHER 4 HOURS, COM CONCLUDED DEBATE ON CONGOLESE DRAFT.

5. OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN ONU BRIEFED PRESS ON COM CONCLUSIONS, WHICH HE ASSERTED WERE AGREED TO UNANIMOUSLY AFTER "FRANK: DISCUSSIONS. BEARING LITTLE OR NOT RELATION TO CONGOLESE RESOLUTIONS, COM DECIDED:

(A) DEFENSE OF AFRICA, ITS SECURITY AND PEACE, IS THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF AFRICANS.

(B) EXERCIDSE OF SOVEREIGNTY OF ANY COUNTRY, GIVES IT THE RIGHT TO APPEAL TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY FOR HELP IF ITS SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE IS ENDANGERED.

(C) CREATION OF PAN-AFRICAN FORCE SHOULD BE SEEN IN LIGHT OF THE DANGERS THREATENING AFRICA AND IN LIGHT OF DECONONIZATION EFFORTS OF THE OAU.

(D) OAU DEFENSE COMMISSION (AS STIPULATED IN ARTICLE XX OF OAU CHARTER) SHOULD BE REACTIVATED TO STUDY THIS QUESTION FROM DIFFERENT ASPECTS.

(E) DRAFTING COMMITTEE SHOULD STUDY PROPOSAL BY PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CONGO, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS MADE IN COM.

(F) COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION (AS STIPUATED IN ARTICLE XIX OF AOUA CHARTER) SHOULD BE REACTIVATED SO THAT IT COULD SOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN SPIRIT OF AFRICAN BROTHERHOOD.

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6. RESOLUTIONS A AND B APPEAR DIRECTLY TO CONTRADICT EACH OTHER. WHILE ASSERTING DEFENSE OF AFRICA IS "SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF AFRICANS, RESOLUTION B REAFFIRMS RIGHT OF EACH COUNTRY TO SEEK HELP FROM NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES. (RESOLUTION B IS NEARLY EXACT WORDING OF LIBERIAN FONMIN'S MID-DAY REMARKS TO PRESS AND HE MAY HAVE DRAFTED THIS POSITION.) OAU DEFENSE COMMISSION HAS MEET ONLY 4 TIMES SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT, THE LAST TIME AT CONAKRY (GUINEA) IN 1974 FOR UNSPECIFIED PURPOSE. (IDEA OF RESURRECTING DEFENSE COMMISSION APPEARS TO BE EGYPTIAN ONE, WHICH MAY HAVE HAD NIGERIAN BACKING.) MEDICATION COMMISSION OF RESOLUTION F CREATED IN MAY 1964, COMPOSED OF 21 MEMBERS AND BASED IN ADDIS ABABA, HAS BEEN TOO UNWIELDY AND INEFFECTIVE IN PAST, LEADING OAU TO CREATE NUMEROUS AD HOC COMMITTEES OVER YEARS TO MEDIATE INTER-AFRICAN DISPUTES, SOMETIMES WITH DEGREE OF SUCCESS. DECISION TO REFER CONGOLESE PROPOSAL TO DRAFTING COMMITTEE (RESOLUTION E) MAY BE FACE-SAVING GESTURE BY COM FOR CONGO, SINCE COM DECISIONS ARE ONLY FAINTLY SIMILAR TO ORIGINAL DRAFT.

7. COMMENT: IT SEEMS THAT MODERATES ARE CONTINUING TO OUTMANEUVER "PROGRESSIVE" OR "RADICAL" STATES. WHEREAS IN PAST ALGERIANS COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO PREPARE DIFFICULT-TO-ASSAIL DRAFT RESOLUTION ON ALMOST ANY CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE, BURDEN IN THIS INSTANCE WAS LEFT TO CONGO. AS RESULT, DRAFT CONCENTRATED ON RHETORICAL ATTACK OF MODERATES, RATHER THAN REAL ISSUE OF PAN-AFRICAN FORCE, AND WAS EASILY DISMANTLED BY MODERATES. BECAUSE OF OBVIOUS PRE-KHARTOUM PREPARATIONS BY FRANCOPHONE AFRICANS, COM HAS BEEN TERMED "GISCARD'S SUMMIT" BY SOME JOURNALISTS, ALTHOUGH THIS IS ONLY PARTICALLY TRUE. MILITARY INTERVENTION QUESTION AND AFRICAN RESPONSE CONTINUE TO BE FOCUS OF COM, DESPITE PUBLIC DELAIMERS BY OAU OFFICIALS THAT SOUTHERN AFRICA AND STRENGTHENING OF OAU STRUCTURE ARE CHIEF CONCERNS. COM WILL BEGIN DEBATE ON QUESTIONS

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OF NEO-COLONIALIST MANEUVERS AND MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA MORNING JULY 14 AND PROBABLY RESUME CONFRONTATION WHERE IT LEFT OFF ON CONGO RESOLUTIONS.

BERGUS.

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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